2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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one feels any grudge against society. There is small temptation to theft. There are, therefore, no questions of capital and labour, no leisure class, no organized industries, no exploitation either of men or of raw materials, no banks to rob, no checks to forge. Under such conditions economic crimes are practically eliminated. Man lives off the jungle and the streams which intersect it, and there are at his disposal uncounted miles of stream and of jungle. Such crimes as exist among the human inhabitants of these forests arise chiefly in quarrels over women. But where divorce is free and instantaneous, and sexual relationships are taken lightly, even the difficulties between men and women are enormously simplified.

And as these Djukas stood curiously staring outside the prison gates of St. Laurent, they seemed to me to stand in judgment. When I watched them get into their canoes and paddle upstream, returning to their green jungle fastnesses, and heard them call to one another from canoe to canoe, and heard their laughter ring out across the sunlit water, I felt that they went back to the forest, well content that their slave ancestors of two hundred years ago had fled from the white man and all his ways, back to the jungle, there to lead the primitive life of their African forbears.

I had gone to French Guiana to study the convict life of the Devil's Island Penal Colony. And when that had been completed, my husband and I made a journey through the interior of Dutch Guiana, travelling by the streams and trails used by fugitives from the French prisons. This is how we

/224 cont./

775 A yɔrka exercising a kunu may also demand that another
784 smaller fraga tiki be erected for it beside the principal fraga
769 tiki of its lo. In the villages of the Refugee Blacks one often
778 sees these little crosses provided with white veils like the main
613 fraga tiki, planted beside it a little obliquely.

The notion of the kunu exercised by a yɔrka explains the
775 rarity of murder among the Refugee Blacks. How would you
784 dare to kill someone when, as soon as it is freed from his body,
674 his yɔrka will have full latitude to make you sick, to make
tree branches fall across your path, to cause to suffer and to
775 kill all those dear to you? If someone is blinded by hate, it
784 is the idea of suicide which will dominate him. In October,
762 1952 we were able to observe this reaction in a man who had
just been subject to a deep humiliation: "I am going to kill
my body in order to go to kill that man and his whole family,"
he said to us, prey to a fit of rage; fortunately, when the fit
had passed, he came back to a more sound outlook on things.

775 It is to be noted that a yɔrka cannot exercise a kunu
784 against its own lineage. This notion explains why, in the times
613 when they exercised absolute authority, tribal chiefs had those
696 condemned to death executed by men of the same lineage.
[171] Apparently similar practices were the rule in olden days in
several African kingdoms, which allows one to think that notions
analogous to those of the kunu may be rather widespread there.

784 Situation of the various lineages with respect to the kunu. There
613 we touch on one of the most secret aspects of the social life of
the Refugee Blacks. Years of living among them are necessary
in order to obtain precise information on the nature and the
mode of action of the kunu acting on the various lineages.

784 Nearly all the entities which now exercise their kunu on the
613 Boni have been in their lineages since a very ancient period,
428 to the point where the name of their first bearer is forgotten.
They are transmitted inexorably from generation to generation.
In the course of the ages, the kunu have accumulated, and now
certain lineages are living with four, five, or even six kunu.

/252 cont./

789 The one who installs a kɛ̃ndu utters the formula: mi poti yu ya, ɛfu a sama kɔm fu fufu mi sani, yu mu siki ɛn (I put thee here; if someone comes to steal my belongings, thou must make him sick).

[784] If someone goes beyond [it] and commits a theft, he will be struck sooner or later with various sicknesses.

According to the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, the kɛ̃ndu is blind and strikes as well the friend who came to take objects because he received previous authorization to do it. So, many forego placing kɛ̃ndu, as with us, people hesitate to set wolf-traps for fear of causing accidents.

789 784 428 However, the kɛ̃ndu does not act upon the people who have the same basic interdiction (bwasi kina) as the one who placed it. This conception shows that these interdictions transmitted from father to children really are the mark of true patrilineages.

• 694 789 754 In fact, we have ascertained several times, there are burglaries in Boni country in spite of the kɛ̃ndu and people do not succeed in uncovering the burglars; it is infinitely probable that one must not see in this the stamp of freethinkers who do not believe in sorcery; these are people who have obtained from a wisimã a talisman of black magic stronger than the kɛ̃ndu! At least this is the explanation their victims give.

789 751 One can lift a kɛ̃ndu on behalf of any man, whom one wants, for example, to send to get an object which one has forgotten; for that it is sufficient to give him mula: one blows into one's hands and lays them on the man's head, saying: mi puu a kɛ̃ndu gi yu, a ˈɛ̃ mu du a sani ɛ̃ŋga yu: I withdraw the kɛ̃ndu for thee, it must not do anything to thee. /253/

Mula can be given retroactively: If someone perceives that he has inadvertently incurred the chastisement of a kɛ̃ndu, he has several days to be able to ask for mula from the owner, for the action of the kɛ̃ndu is slow.